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ABSTRACT

The popular image of the "Education Governor" was investigated, with attention to: (1) the extent to which the specific education measures proposed in inaugural and state of the state addresses of 20 "Education Governors" of the 1960s through 1980s corresponded with the subsequent actions of these officials; and (2) the specific personal attributes, professional goals and activities, and actual involvement in education that characterize these "Education Governors" of the 1960s through the 1980s. The roots of the "Education Governor" idea are traced to four turn of the century governors, one from North Carolina, two from Virginia, and one from Alabama, all of whom held office between 1901 and 1911. The 20 recent governors and their states are as follows:. Jerry Apodaca (New Mexico); Reubin Askew (Florida); Edmund G. Brown, Sr. (California); John Chafee (Rhode Island); Bill Clinton (Arkansas); Winfield Dunn (Tennessee); Pierre S. duPont, IV (Delaware); Robert D. Graham (Florida); Clifford T. Hansen (Wyoming); Mark O. Hatfield (Oregon); Richard J. Hughes (New Jersey); James B. Hunt (North Carolina); Thomas Kean (New Jersey); Tom McCall (Oregon); Robert E. McNair (South Carolina); William G. Milliken (Michigan); Russell W. Peterson (Delaware); Calvin L. Rampton (Utah); Robert D. Ray (Iowa); and TerrySanford (North Carolina). Included are 30 references. (SW)

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POLITICAL PACKAGING OR PUBLIC POLICY?

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THE "EDUCATION GOVERNOR":

POLITICAL PACKAGING OR PUBLIC POLICY?

For Presentation at the Annual Meeting
Association for the Study of Higher Education
November 1987

Governors: In Search Of Educational Results

August 24, 1986. . .On this eve of a new academic year, the nation's governors collectively endorsed an ambitious education agenda stressing the importance of undergraduate instruction in U.S. colleges and universities as well as the need for systematic assessment of student learning. The title of their report revealed the governors' intent; it was high "time," they reasoned, "for results" in higher education. From the New York Times to the Los Angeles Times, front page articles elaborated on the just-released Governors' 1991 Report on Education which examined, among other issues, college quality. However, even before the bold headlines had faded, thoughtful analysts were beginning to ask, "Will the governors really remain involved in higher education 'for the long haul' as National Governors' Association Chairman Lamar Alexander emphatically claimed?

Indications of an answer appeared the following June when Virginia's Governor Gerald Baliles informed a commencement audience:

> "Something has happened here -- something that could jeopardize this institution's long-held mission. To the historic ambitions of educational excellence and research leadership held by this university, a new set of ambitions have [sic] been added. . .These are ambitions not measured by the breakthroughs in research but by breaking records in gate receipts. . . While I do not condemn those who hold these ambitions, I will tell you they are not mine." (Teel, 1987, p. B1)

One month later, the Governor appointed four new members to that institution's board of trustees, bypassing two eligible incumbents. Baliles defended his decision, declaring, "It is a time for new leadership on the board and for a signal to remaining board members. . . that academic priorities must be clearly established and promoted" ("Board revised," 1987, p. A1).

Still more recently, Governor Thomas Kean of New Jersey has tackled academic priorities from a different angle. Arguing the merits of appropriate assessment in "Time to Deliver" (Change, September/October 1987) Kean contends:

> We **cannot** be satisfied with just a reporting requirement. What we want, both those of us in higher education and those in public office, is stronger undergraduate education. The only point of an assessment system is to help us along that path. The public won't be fooled. They will not take an elegant assessment system in place of unfulfilled promises about undergraduate education. . .
>
> Defining the outcomes of higher learning and how to measure them demands collaboration. Public officials must consult presidents, trustees, and faculty. Let there be proposal and counterproposal; dispute backed with argument; ultimately consensus; and then action. (Kean, 1987, pp. 10-11)

Indeed, action is the key to Kean's program. "Ever since he was elected to his first term of office in 1981, Mr. Kean has been plugging -- and challenging -- higher education [in New Jersey] and across the country with the same passion that other politicians reserve for topics like taxes and farm policy. . ." (Mooney, 1987, p. A21). A prominent insert in the October 14, 1987, Chronicle of Higher Education pictured Kean as both commencement speaker and state college classroom visitor while the accompanying headline hailed him as New Jersey's "Education Governor."

Since 1983 the "Education Governor" label has been applied increasingly to a number of state political leaders by such nationally recognized publications as the Chronicle, Education Week, and Phi Delta Kappan. As Caldwell (1985) pointed out, "It is the rare governor who has not, in the past two years, devoted a large portion of his or her time, energy, and political capital. . .to nuts-and-bolts questions of educational policy." To paraphrase Daniel Boorstin (1962), fact or fantasy, the "Education Governor" image has become the fashionable "thing" among governors of the 1980s. However, do they truly "suit action to. . . word, [and] word to. . .action" (O'Keeffe, 1798/1977, p. 62)? Has education in general -- and higher education in particular -- benefited from the terms of these so-called "Education Governors" like Thomas Kean?

Given Boorstin's (1962) assertion that the roots of any successful image are harbored in reality, the aim of this study was to probe the popular "Education Governor" image, thus separating fact from fantasy. In addressing the above questions, this research analyzed: (1) the extent to which the specific education measures

proposed in inaugural and state of the state addresses of twenty "Education Governors" of the 1960s through 1980s corresponded with the subsequent actions of these officials and (2) the special personal attributes, professional goals and activities, and actual involvement in education which characterize these "Education Governors" of the 1960s through the 1980s.

In Pursuit of the "Education Governor"

Unfortunately, the phrase "Education Governor" suffers "the usual muddled connotation of all popular words" (Fitzgerald, 1920, p. 270). As Humpty Dumpty advised Alice, "When I use a word. . .it means just what I choose it to mean -- neither more nor less" (Carroll, 1871/1960, p. 269). Such is the case with "Education Governors;" as individual conceptions of the image vary so, also, do the names to which that label becomes attached. However, closer scrutiny of the historical record reveals that the modern "Education Governors" actually prove heirs to a legacy which is clearly traceable to turn-of-the-century North Carolina. From this more tightly circumscribed group of early twentieth century "Education Governors" comes a strong rationale for identification of their latter-day counterparts. Thus, full understanding of the modern contingent first demands familiarity with these documented "Education Governors" of the early 1900s.

A roll call of the states represented by the turn-of-the-century "Education Governors" -- Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia -- resounds with a distinctly Southern accent. As Kuralt interprets this phenomenon:

> I think education meant more to Southerners than to others. We were surely the poorest educated of all the regions, mainly because we were the poorest. . .In North Carolina there was a succession of what were termed "good-schools governors" -- men who preached how much we had to sacrifice to make our schools better. (These were as opposed to the "roads governors," who were a different bunch altogether.) A lot of people got elected on that platform -- "Our schools are rated forty-fourth in the nation, and we are sacrificing the future of our children." That rang a bell. (Kuralt, 1986, p. 243)

Tracing the Roots: Early "Education Governors"

Perhaps the most celebrated of those "good-schools governors" was Charles Brantley Aycock who occupied North Carolina's executive mansion from 1901 through 1905. Virtually all historians and biographers of that era distinguish Aycock as the archetype "Education Governor." Aycock assumed office with the vow, "I shall devote the four years of my official time to upbuilding the public schools of North Carolina" (Orr, 1961, p. 168). His ensuing personal crusade prompted the contruction of approximately one new schoolhouse each day while gaining heightened salaries and preparation for both teachers and administrators. All state institutions of higher education improved during Aycock's tenure with steady or increasing state appropriations. By 1905 colleges were graduating enlarged classes of teachers, and a new normal school, later to become Appalachian State Teachers College, had been established together with 877 libraries. "When it comes to schools," Aycock declared, "I am neither a Democrat nor a Republican -- I am a North Carolinian and a father" (Orr, 1961, p. 84).

"One of a small group of notably vigorous leaders of the

legislature" (Orr, 1961, pp. 263-264), Aycock ably "used his powers as chief administrator of the state; he urged the legislature to enact new educational measures; and he sought to enlighten and stimulate the public" (p. 299). This "public" ultimately extended far beyond the borders of North Carolina; an enthusiastic campaigner for Robert Ogden's Southern Education Board, Aycock inspired audiences from Maine to Alabama and acquired a "wide reputation throughout the country" (Dabney, 1936, p. 345).

Witnessing this marked advancement of education in the "Tar Heel" state, several of Aycock's contemporaries pursued a similar path. Among those sharing the "Education Governor" spotlight at the turn of the century were Virginia Governors Andrew Jackson Montague (1902-1906) and Claude A. Swanson (1906-1910) and Governor Braxton Bragg Comer of Alabama (1907-1911).

Montague's renown, like Aycock's, transcended state -- and even sectional -- boundaries with invitations to speak in New York and Alabama. The head of Hampton Institute held that Montague "is rightly called the educational governor, for, in every possible way, by word and deed, he has made himself felt in the struggle for better schools" (Larsen, 1965, p. 162). Montague corresponded with John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board concerning aid for the state female normal school, requesting a statement of amount "that I may use as a leverage to ensure. . .appropriations" (Larsen, 1965, p. 164). Montague's successor, Claude Swanson, supported the construction of new Teachers' Colleges at Fredericksburg and Harrisonburg, Virginia, and welcomed The College of William and Mary into the fold of state institutions. Swanson's administration earned praise from Henry

Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation: "Probably no educational development in any State in the Union is more marked than that. . . represented in the Old Commonwealth of Virginia ("Secretary Swanson," 1939, p. 3).

In Alabama, Governor Braxton Bragg Comer concentrated on "creating an adequate alma mater in our own midst," thereby

> creating a great alumni of citizenship bound to the State by that principle of early association and [infused with] that great principle of love of the old school grounds, love of the old college mate, love of the old faculty, and twice hallowed, the love of the State that furnished these great opportunities. (Walker, 1947, p. 194)

The University of Alabama, he insisted, "should be built and built and built, no limit now or ever as far as the economy of the State will allow" (Walker, 1947, p. 195). And built it was. Comer Hall became a monument to the Governor's educational efforts on behalf of that institution while buildings bearing the same name also appeared on the campuses of Alabama College at Montevallo and the Polytechnic Institute (Auburn). Comer "did not hesitate to carry his views into action or have them enacted into law. He was [acclaimed as] a great governor". . .an "Education Governor." (Walker, 1947, p. 330).

Clarifying the Core

Woven throughout the portraits of these four individuals -- Aycock, Montague, Swanson, and Comer -- is the common thread of recognition in their own time as "great" or "outstanding" governors. In addition, the actions of each spoke louder than words -- not only in their state but throughout the region and nation. The Southern

Education Board provided a focal point for their activities.

Transporting these characteristics forward some fifty years affords a rational means of designating a defined (as opposed to definitive) group of modern "Education Governors." In 1978 political analyst Larry Sabato compiled a list of "outstanding" governors of the quarter century encompassing 1950 through 1975; from his extensive study, all were judged to have been chief executives "of conspicuous ability and competence whose [terms were] characterized by personal hard work and firm dedication and who diligently attempted (even if unsuccessful in part) to meet the needs of the people" of their state (Sabato, 1978, p. 51). Updated by Sabato in 1985, this roster was validated by a panel of five political scientists/policy analysts. Like their early twentieth century antecedents, the modern "Education Governors" also should be linked with a larger forum and have gained nationwide renown for their efforts; hence, Sabato's validated list was crossed with the names of the co-founders, interim steering committee members, and chairmen of the Education Commission of the States, organized in 1965 as a national alliance to enhance communication and cooperation among governors, state legislators, professional educators, and lay leaders both within and among the separate states (Compact for Education, Article I).

As the comparison revealed, both groups share the following twenty governors of the 1960s through the 1980s: Jerry Apodaca (New Mexico, 1975-1979); Reubin Askew (Florida, 1971-1979); Edmund G. Brown, Sr. (California, 1959-1967); John Chafee (Rhode Island, 1963-1969); Bill Clinton (Arkansas, 1979-1981; 1983-present); Winfield Dunn (Tennessee, 1971-1975); Pierre S. duPont, IV (Delaware, 1977-1985);

Robert D. Graham (Florida 1979-1987); Clifford T. Hansen (Wyoming, 1963-1967); Mark O. Hatfield (Oregon, 1959-1967); Richard J. Hughes (New Jersey, 1962-1970); James B. Hunt (North Carolina, 1977-1985); Thomas Kean (New Jersey, 1982-present); Tom McCall (Oregon, 1967-1975); Robert E. McNair (South Carolina, 1965-1971); William G. Milliken (Michigan, 1969-1983); Russell W. Peterson (Delaware, 1969-1973); Calvin L. Rampton (Utah, 1965-1977); Robert D. Ray (Iowa, 1969-1983); and Terry Sanford (North Carolina, 1961-1965).

Of these more recent "Education Governors," it was North Carolina's Terry Sanford who first saw Aycock as a spiritual mentor, propelling the image into modern times. Sanford's speeches and imagery consciously invoked his predecessor's legacy. And, symbolically, Aycock's portrait occupied a prominent place in Sanford's office; some constituents even received autographed copies of a favorite Sanford photograph which displays this Aycock painting in the background. Although he left the executive mansion more than twenty years ago and has since moved on to the United States Senate, commentators still praise Sanford as the epitome of the modern "Education Governor."

However, is this modern "Education Governor" image a result of prudent political packaging or effective public policy? To penetrate the image, education promises appearing in the Inaugural and State of the State Addresses of these twenty governors were compared with the tangible achievements of each administration. Since policy ultimately is implemented through the budget process, Budget Messages and actual state budget documents played a vital role in this research as did Special Messages on Education, United States Bureau of the Census

publications, and state Statutes and Codes. In addition, biographical materials, professional journals, popular magazine and newspaper accounts, and college alumni bulletins all yielded valuable insights concerning each governor's personal background, professional ties, and involvement in education.

Following a brief demographic sketch of the contingent of modern "Education Governors," the discussion will highlight their higher education proposals and accomplishments. Portayed first is Terry Sanford, perhaps Aycock's closest contemporary likeness. Attention then shifts to the remaining nineteen governors who are profiled in chronological order of their first term in office. If these individuals truly are men of their word, the rhetoric should match (or approximate) reality. Otherwise, the substance of these gubernatorial promises, like the fabric of the emperor's new clothes, will fade upon closer inspection.

Branching Out: Modern "Education Governors"

Unlike their forerunners who hailed from the South, these modern "Education Governors" display broad geographic diversity, representing a total of fifteen different states. Using Peirce and Hagstrom's (1983) classification from The Book of America, four each come from the Mid-Atlantic states (duPont, Hughes, Kean, Peterson) and the Deep South (Askew, Clinton, Graham, McNair); three each from the Border South (Dunn, Hunt, Sanford), the Mountain states (Apodaca, Hansen, Rampton), and the Pacific states (Brown, Hatfield, McCall); and one each from New England (Chafee), the Great Lakes (Milliken), and the Great Plains (Ray).

While the collective face of America's governors changed with the

election of Ella Grasso (Connecticut) and Dixy Lee Ray (Washington) to gubernatorial seats in the 1970s and, more recently, following the successful campaigns of Madeleine Kunin (Vermont) and Kay Orr (Nebraska), men hold the vast majority of governorships. Thus, the fact that all twenty modern "Education Governors" are males -- and that nineteen of these twenty are white, non-Hispanics -- simply proves indicative of the larger gubernatorial population. Jerry Apodaca, as an Hispanic, represents the sole minority.

These modern "Education Governors" have served an average of 7.7 years in the executive office, with actual terms varying from four years (Apodaca, Dunn, Hansen, Peterson, and Sanford) to the fourteen years of William Milliken and Robert Ray. Again, in marked contrast with their Democratic predecessors, ten were elected as Republicans (Chafee, Dunn, duPont, Hansen, Hatfield, Kean, McCall, Milliken, Peterson, and Ray) and ten as Democrats (Apodaca, Askew, Brown, Clinton, Graham, Hughes, Hunt, McNair, Rampton, and Sanford). Nine of these governors enjoyed the perceived advantage of having the same party affiliation as the majority in both houses of their state legislature (Apodaca, Askew, Brown, Clinton, Graham, Hunt, McNair, Peterson, and Sanford); the remaining eleven experienced several years in which the opposing party controlled at least one house of the state legislature (Chafee, Dunn, duPont, Hansen, Hatfield, Hughes, Kean, McCall, Milliken, Rampton, and Ray). Throughout their terms, Chafee and Dunn -- both Republicans -- continually faced legislatures dominated by Democrats.

Terry Sanford: "Throughout his campaigns for Governor and throughout his administration, Sanford spoke for education as a whole,

'from the first grade through the graduate school'" (Jones, 1966, p. xxviii). Just two weeks after his election in November 1960, he presented the specifics of his Quality Education Program (which included significant raises for college faculty) to a group of educators gathered on the campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Listening to the newly-elected Governor's words, one elderly professor seated at the back of the auditorium exclaimed, "Good Lord! He meant what he said during the campaign" (Jones, 1966, p. xxi).

Sanford's Higher Education Act of 1963 (1) established a network of comprehensive community colleges across the state to place higher education within the economic and geographic grasp of all North Carolinians; (2) created three new senior colleges at Wilmington, Charlotte, and Asheville; and (3) stipulated that North Carolina would have one university with campuses at Chapel Hill, Raleigh, Greensboro, and any future sites deemed advisable (Jones, 1966, pp. xxix). In response to his constituents' concern about college tuition, Sanford recorded a radio and television announcement: "If you want to go to college, and you have the will and the skill, but not the money, write to me. Maybe I can help you find a loan" (Sanford, 1966, p. 78). And he did, courtesy of the North Carolina Bankers Association.

During Sanford's four-year term, direct expenditures for higher education increased seventy-four percent, compared with a forty-two per cent rise in total general expenditures and an inflation rate of 5.47 per cent. In 1965, Sanford joined with James Bryant Conant in organizing the Education Commission of the States (ECS). He also chaired the Southern Regional Education Board, served as a trustee for

Methodist College, and in 1969 was inaugurated President of Duke University. Upon Sanford's retirement from that position, columnist Jonathan Yardley (1985) complimented him as having worked "perhaps more successfully than any other individual in the country -- to improve education at every level from kindergarten through graduate school" (p. D2).

Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown, Sr.: Inaugurated in 1959, Brown assumed California's Governorship as higher education enrollments were on the verge of explosion. Most of his legislative addresses echoed apparently favorite twin themes of "education as first priority" and "California schools as the best in the nation." Toward those ends, he worked for the adoption of a statewide Master Plan for Higher Education, a document Brown labeled a "signal achievement" and one of his six major accomplishments. In his second Inaugural Address (1963), Brown boasted: "We are on schedule with a bold program to duplicate in ten short years a tuition-free system of higher education which already is the best in the world" (no longer just the nation!). His administration oversaw the addition of six new colleges and three new campuses of the University of California. Between 1959 and 1967, total direct expenditures for higher education grew eighty-five per cent while total general expenditures rose 134 per cent and inflation was 14.58 per cent.

Mark O. Hatfield: A former political science professor and Dean of Students, Hatfield entered Oregon's executive office in 1959. He particularly favored a recommendation urging creation of a Graduate Research Center to "provide opportunities for those in industry to keep abreast of scientific developments, earn advanced degrees, and do

original research" (Inaugural Address, 1963). Consequently, continued Hatfield,

> The intellectual capacities developed by the high quality of our educational system will have increased opportunity for full utilization in **Oregon** -- to the benefit of the graduate students, our economy, and our whole society. (Inaugural Address, 1963).

Complementing this Center were the eleven community colleges created during Hatfield's eight-year tenure together with the expansion of existing college campuses. Total direct expenditures for higher education increased 225 per cent through this period, compared with a ninety-five per cent growth in total general expenditures and 14.58 per cent inflation.

Richard J. Hughes: Becoming New Jersey's highest elected official in 1962, Hughes acknowledged the pressure of expanded enrollments and concomitant quest for excellence. This pursuit culminated in the provision of incentive grants for financial assistance, appropriation of capital construction funds, authorization for two additional state colleges, and construction of thirteen community colleges enrolling some 30,000 students (labeled by Hughes "one of the most exciting developments during my administration"). Proud that the public interest [in education] overrode partisan interests" (State of the State, 1967), Hughes increased total direct expenditures for higher education by 166 per cent during his eight-year term. Total general expenditures increased 216 per cent across that same span while inflation grew 28.37 per cent.

John H. Chafee: Chafee took Rhode Island's gubernatorial oath in

1963, pledging himself to such concrete goals as a "vigorous [higher education] building program" and the development of a two-year college. Indeed, when he left office six years later, Chafee could cite a number of tangible achievements, among them, one junior college in Providence and a second in Warwick, unprecedented construction of college facilities, and the dedication of a College of Business Administration at the University of Rhode Island. He raised total direct expenditures for higher education 156 per cent as compared with a 127 per cent increase in total general expenditures. Inflation across the period was 19.68 per cent. Chafee has continued to remain active in higher education through membership on the Board of Trustees of Yale University, his undergraduate alma mater.

Clifford P. Hansen: Hansen brought experience as a University of Wyoming trustee to the Wyoming governor's office in 1963, and, in turn, lent that body the prestige of his new position. He strongly advocated increased salaries to aid in the recruitment and retention of University faculty together with a "good," high quality community college system. "Junior colleges," observed Hansen, "can make a most significant contribution toward full-time employment -- one of the key objectives of this Administration" (State of the State, 1963). Like his contemporaries, the Wyoming governor backed expanded University facilities to accommodate burgeoning enrollments. Total direct expenditures for higher education catapulted 163 per cent between 1963 and 1967 while total general expenditures rose a modest forty-one per cent. Inflation was nine per cent.

Robert E. McNair: The South Carolina Governor's mantle was thrust suddenly on McNair in 1965 when his predecessor moved to fill a

vacancy in the United States Senate. During the next six years McNair achieved such objectives as a State Commission of Higher Education, a State College Board to supervise the newly-organized four-year college system, state scholarships for students attending non-public institutions of higher education, and tax-free bond authority for private colleges. After election to his own four-year term, McNair reminded legislators:

> When I became Governor, I made a commitment to the improvement of teacher pay. . .I renew that commitment today and assure all that every effort will be made to bring the level of teachers' salaries to a more competitive position in the Southeast by 1971. This also applies to faculties in our colleges and universities. (State of the State, 1968)

Salaries did, indeed, increase. However, McNair's dream of a statewide junior college system coordinated by the Board for Four-Year Colleges went unrealized during his tenure. From 1965 through 1971, total direct expenditures for higher education increased 151 per cent. Total general expenditures grew 116 per cent while inflation was 28.36 per cent. McNair chaired the Southern Regional Education Board and has served as a trustee for both Presbyterian College and Baptist College in South Carolina.

Calvin L. Rampton: As Governor of Utah from 1965 through 1977, Rampton led the population of one of "the best educated and most literate states in the nation" (State of the State, 1973). In 1967 he challenged the state's lawmakers:

> Tremendous pressures are building in our publicly owned institutions of higher learning. . .Beyond providing for the sheer weight of numbers, our institutions must also provide a higher **quality** of education if our graduates are to be able to compete with their contemporaries from other states and institutions. (State of the State, 1967)

Within two years, an enormous building program was well underway. During his twelve years in office, Rampton also advanced higher education through supporting increased faculty salaries, the creation of a State Board of Higher Education, adoption of a higher education Master Plan, elevation of the College of Southern Utah to a four-year institution, and designation of over $100,000 for scholarships for the economically disadvantaged at the University of Utah. Rampton's administration saw total direct expenditures for higher education leap 330 per cent. By comparison, total general expenditures grew 245 per cent, while inflation across the period was 92.06 per cent.

Tom McCall: In 1967 McCall followed fellow Republican Hatfield's footsteps to the Oregon Governor's Mansion. The new chief executive sought -- and obtained -- expansion of community colleges as well as the elevation of Portland State College to university status with attendant widening of its research agenda. Despite difficult economic conditions, McCall searched for ways to continue financing higher education capital needs. By 1973 the legislature approved his recommendations for further support of public institutions of higher education, additional funding for the Scholarship Commission, and assistance to the state's private colleges and universities. By the close of McCall's term in 1975, total direct expenditures for higher education had increased by fifty-nine per cent. In contrast, total

general expenditures rose 125 per cent and inflation across the span was 61.20 per cent. After departing his elected office, McCall entered the realm of higher education as a professor of journalism at Oregon State University in Corvallis.

William G. Milliken: Milliken's first Inaugural Address in 1969 clearly set forth his intended posture: "The Governor must take a leading role in developing the proper total approach to education." As he stressed in a special legislative message later that year, education "is not a partisan issue and. . .failure to enact educational reform would jeopardize our children's future." Milliken promoted aid to both community colleges and the public four-year institutions; however, given the uneasy economic climate of the early 1970s, the Governor admonished that these "significant increases" be used to achieve maximum potential. During Milliken's unprecedented fourteen years in office, total direct expenditures for higher education increased 161 per cent while total general expenditures rose 285 per cent and inflation was 171.77 per cent.

Russell W. Peterson: Upon taking Delaware's gubernatorial oath in 1969, Peterson immediately called for the restoration of vital education funds cut by the outgoing Terry administration. His first legislative address that year depicted heightened commitment to education as "the secret weapon of America's unparalleled economic growth," spurring approval of two new technical and community college campuses as well as "catch-up" funds for historically black Delaware State College. In ensuing years, Peterson's "Future of the State" Messages foretold a notable expansion of both programs and facilities (including a new library) at Delaware State. Meanwhile, Peterson

proposed that the University of Delaware could claim "much more than the nation's number one small college football team; it is a quality institution of higher learning of which we can be very proud" (Future of the State, 1972). Throughout this four-year administration, total direct expenditures for higher education rose 117 per cent. Total general expenditures increased by a lesser seventy-one per cent while inflation was 21.22 per cent.

Robert D. Ray: At the outset of what would be a fourteen-year tenure as Iowa's governor, Ray accorded education top priority:

> Education is Iowa's prime resource, and a prerequisite to the state's continuing progress. We must attend zealously to every kind, every level, and every geographical location of Iowa's education needs. There can be no doubt about our commitment to this goal. . .(Inaugural Address, 1969)

The governor went on to demonstrate this commitment by convincing state lawmakers to raise the salaries of college faculty, approve a long-range bonding program for classroom construction at the three state universities, meet the cost of larger university enrollments, substantially increase aid to community colleges (especially for vocational training), and establish Iowa student loans. Ray was particularly proud of his "novel" tuition grant program for students at private higher education institutions and called for its continuance or expansion in virtually every legislative address. By the close of his fifth and final term in 1983, Ray had increased total direct expenditures for higher education by 205 per cent. While total general expenditures grew 259 per cent, inflation was 171.77 per cent.

President Richard Nixon named Ray to the National Reading Council.

Reubin O'D. Askew: Askew assumed Florida's executive office in 1971, citing the challenge of education reform. He resolved "to build a system capable of producing quality education." "And yet," he stated, "we must encourage and work toward that reform without making education a scapegoat for political gain" (Inaugural Address, 1971). Askew's eight-year administration gave priority to undergraduate education, support for community colleges, a major student financial assistance program, salary increases for university and community college faculty and administrators (although economic conditions deprived them of raises in 1975), funding for additional faculty in lieu of graduate teaching assistants, and improvements in university libraries. From 1971 through 1979 total direct expenditures for higher education rose 141 per cent. Total general expenditures increased 154 per cent across this period, with inflation at 79.23 per cent.

Winfield Dunn: A former dentist, Republican Winfield Dunn shifted from extracting teeth to extracting programs from a Democratic-led legislature in 1971. By 1974 he could report, for the first time, "funding public higher education at the formula level developed by the Higher Education Commission. [Furthermore,] we have opened the doors of three new community colleges, while another is being created to place special emphasis on technical education needs" (State of the State, 1974). Additional accomplishments of Dunn's administration include "long overdue" assistance for university medical units and expanded financial aid opportunities for medical students. He increased total direct expenditures for higher education

seventy-seven per cent in comparison with a fifty-nine per cent rise in total general expenditures and 32.89 per cent inflation. Dunn also served as chairman of the University of Tennessee's Board of Trustees.

Jerry Apodaca: Invested with New Mexico's gubernatorial powers in 1975, Apodaca sounded a "comprehensive plan for educational excellence. . .from kindergarten through graduate school" as the keynote of his administration. Finally in a position to help lift the educator's lifestyle, this former teacher and football coach recommended increased appropriations to enhance salaries of university faculty, professional employees, graduate assistants, and non-certified employees. In addition, he achieved expanded postsecondary vocational programs, capital improvements at state institutions of higher learning, and more readily available student financial assistance in the form of loans. During Apodaca's four-year term, total direct expenditures for higher education grew seventy-five per cent while total general expenditures rose seventy-six per cent. Inflation across the period was 34.86 per cent. Since leaving office in 1979, Apodaca has remained active in higher education as chair of the University of New Mexico Regents.

Pierre S. duPont, IV: Inaugurated as Delaware's Governor in 1977, duPont disparaged politicians who "have preached priorities as candidates, but ignored them as officials." An accounting the following year revealed that he already had acted on approximately half of his specific campaign pledges. However, few of those promises had highlighted higher education. DuPont did advocate an initiative allowing the University of Delaware to offer merit scholarships to the state's high school graduates. His 1978 State of the State Message

called for creation of a Board of Regents to ensure "the wise utilization of our educational resources -- both financial and academic." But, despite proposals to convert Delaware's higher education advisory board to a coordinating board on a statutory basis, opposition from the three public institutions doomed such legislation to defeat (Millett, 1984). Total direct expenditures for higher education increased ninety-five per cent between 1977 and duPont's departure from office in 1985. While total general expenditures grew 102 per cent, inflation rose 77.52 per cent.

James B. Hunt, Jr.: Hunt's Inaugural Address in 1977 invoked the presence of an unseen yet welcome guest as he echoed fellow North Carolinian Charles B. Aycock's first priority: Education. Under the Governor's ample agenda, community and technical colleges experienced both a vastly revised funding formula and new leadership with their own governing board composed heavily of industry leaders. Hunt repeatedly referred to the "Tar Heel" state's "proud tradition of support for its excellent University of North Carolina system under the leadership of Dr. Bill Friday" (State of the State, 1979). Yet he also dramatically enhanced investments in the state's predominantly black universities and substantially increased aid to students in the private institutions of higher education. "The key to economic growth," urged Hunt, "is education -- the public schools, the community colleges and the universities" (State of the State, 1983). For as he had affirmed two years earlier, "We believe in our state motto -- To Be Rather Than To Seem" (Inaugural Address, 1981). During Hunt's eight-year administration, total direct expenditures for higher education expanded an impressive 142 per cent as compared with

an increase in total general expenditures of ninety-seven per cent and inflation of 77.52 per cent. An enthusiastic participant in regional and national education organizations, Hunt led the Southern Regional Education Board and served on the Business Advisory Council of the Education Commission of the States as well as the Carnegie Forum Task Force on Teaching as a Profession.

William Clinton: Formerly a Rhodes Scholar, lawyer, and faculty member at the University of Arkansas Law School, Clinton became Arkansas' -- and the nation's -- youngest governor in 1979 at the age of 32. Although Clinton's first Inaugural Message held out the promise of substantive educational reform, his state's real educational explosion would wait until he embarked upon his second two-year term in 1983. Calling Clinton the governor who "pour[ed] millions into education" (Jaschik, 1986, p. 25), the Chronicle of Higher Education confirmed that colleges and universities profited from $32 million invested in new science and engineering facilities, a $2.2 million increase in the student loan fund, $3.4 million for selected college improvement programs, and $800,000 for creation of a merit scholarship program designed to reverse the outward flow of Arkansas' most able students. As Clinton claims, "Every governor should be able to say that high-school seniors need not leave their state or attend an expensive private institution to receive an 'absolutely first-rate education'" (Jaschik, 1986, p. 25).

During Clinton's first administration (1979 through 1981), total direct expenditures for higher education rose twenty-nine per cent -- faster than the increase in total general expenditures (twenty-two per cent) and inflation (25.30 per cent). From 1983 through 1985 (the

latest year for which figures are available), total direct expenditures for higher education grew thirty per cent while total general expenditures increased twenty-four per cent and inflation rose 7.98 per cent. The year 1986 was memorable for Clinton; he not only won re-election to an expanded four-year term but also became the first state chief executive to simultaneously hold chairmanships of the Education Commission of the States and the National Governors' Association. He chaired the National Governors' Association Task Force on School Leadership and Management which contributed to the August 1986 Time For Results report and subsequently authored an article asking, "Who Will Manage the Schools?" for the November 1986 Phi Delta Kappan.

Robert D. Graham: A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Florida, Graham followed fellow Florida Democrat Reubin Askew to the Governor's Mansion in 1979. After paying tribute to his predecessor, Graham immediately embarked upon his own campaign for educational quality. In addition to increased per-pupil funding for the community colleges, the Governor earmarked a special appropriation for "improving the excellence of the programs in our state universities. One goal of higher education should be a program of national distinction in each major academic discipline somewhere in Florida" (Inaugural Address, 1979). The succeeding year, Graham acknowledged the approval of the requested moneys with the assertion, "We must have a university system that will attract top scholars and students from all over the world" (State of the State, 1980). However, he also recognized the power of a sound economic argument -- especially when dealing with legislators. Graham's 1983 State of the State Message

affirmed, "By improving our schools, community colleges and state universities, you can help Florida attract the new high-technology businesses that will dominate the economy of the United States into the 21st century." His strategy succeeded, evidenced by the enactment of his proposals, among them the nation's most rigorous graduation standards.

As of the latest available statistics in 1985, total direct expenditures for higher education had increased ninety-five per cent since Graham took office. Total general expenditures rose ninety-eight per cent with inflation growing 48.21 per cent. The Governor's other educational endeavors included membership on the Southern Regional Education Board, the National Commission on Reforming Secondary Education, and the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education. Graham also contributed to the Time For Results effort by serving as Vice Chairman of the National Governors' Association's College Quality Task Force. From a governorship which garnered national recognition, Graham joined Terry Sanford as a member of the United States Senate in January 1987.

Thomas H. Kean: Snared by the political lure in 1964, Kean abandoned his aspirations to a Ph.D. degree after supporting William Scranton's unsuccessful presidential bid. Thus, Kean exchanged a career in the groves of academe for one on the political stump and in 1982 found himself ensconced in the New Jersey governorship. The former American history and English teacher and political science professor quickly shifted his state's emphasis "from the maintenance of mediocrity to the attainment of excellence" in education (State of the State, 1983). Kean's initiatives included an expanded Educational

Opportunity Fund to encourage minority enrollments at state colleges and universities, scholarships for top students agreeing to teach in New Jersey, and a controversial alternative certification program for liberal arts graduates wishing to teach.

In a 1985 interview, Kean acknowledged,

> . . .you can't work just to improve schools. You've got to move on to undergraduate education, for a number of reasons. One is obvious: if something is going wrong in higher education, you are not going to get the teachers you want for secondary schools. In other words, the quality of teachers depends on the quality of colleges. Furthermore, a state's higher education system is often a measure of its quality of life. The state that ignores its public colleges is going to suffer in the long run. It's going to suffer economically, and its image is going to suffer. The best and brightest students may go elsewhere, and stay. ("Rising expectations," 1985)

Consequently, Kean challenged Rutgers University and the state colleges -- institutions "poised on the edge of real distinction" -- to fulfill their potential. Then, he backed up his challenges with new legislation and millions of state dollars. Securing passage of an autonomy bill which severed bureaucratic ties binding the state capitol with the nine state colleges, Kean urged these institutions to "join this nation's very best" (State of the State, 1985). The presidents of these institutions, Kean's special guests for the 1985 State of the State Address, heard the Governor offer Challenge Grant Awards to "colleges that charted a course of excellence and stuck to it" (Kean, 1985). Within a year, he would introduce five world-class scholars to the legislature, boasting, "These people have two things

in common: They are the best in their field and now they teach in New Jersey" (State of the State, 1986). Moreover, the previous pattern of young people seeking their future elsewhere had been broken (Coleman, 1985).

Between 1982 and 1985 (the latest year for which data are available) total direct expenditures for higher education and total general expenditures both increased by twenty-nine per cent. Inflation across the period was 11.45 per cent. Kean chaired the National Governors' Association's Task Force on Teaching, served as a member of the Carnegie Forum Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, and, since concluding his year as ECS Chairman, has continued to direct that organization's three-year national initiative on effective state action to improve undergraduate education.

At the 1985 annual meeting of the Education Commission of the States, Kean received high praise from his Virginia colleague, Charles S. Robb:

> In Tom Kean we have a Governor who is in every aspect [an "Education Governor"]. All of us, particularly those who participate actively in ECS and a number of other educational organizations, like to think of ourselves as "Education Governors." But not many of us can claim to be an "Education Governor" in the sense that he has been an active participant in education virtually all of his life. (Robb, 1985)

Beyond Illusion: Robes of Style -- and Substance

Twenty distinct vignettes. . .Yet, to paraphrase Kean, all have two things in common: These individuals have been recognized as "outstanding" in their field, and they have promoted education through

the power and prestige of their political office. All twenty governors worked -- some of them tirelessly -- to forge their education pledges into substantive action. Clearly, they have proven true to the spirit of Alabama's Braxton Bragg Comer who intensely insisted that "all pre-election pledges made by him and by the legislators, were to be scrupulously kept and enacted into law" (Walker, 1947, p. 181). In moving from words to action, these governors have defied the common wisdom; state political officeholders ranked just above the much-maligned car salespeople in a December 1985 U.S. News and World Report survey of professional honesty and ethical standards. On the other hand, some governors, like Sanford and Kean, promised -- and hence delivered -- more far-reaching results than their fellows.

All twenty modern "Education Governors" embraced the gospel of "high standards," "quality," and "excellence" in education -- words which continuously recur throughout their legislative addresses. And, virtually all of them supported this affirmation with generous contributions from state coffers. As would be expected, the actual dollars and cents appropriation for education increased in every case. More significantly, total direct expenditures for higher education rose at a substantially higher rate than inflation during all but two of the administrations. Two percentage points separated these statistics in McCall's financially-pressed Oregon while William Milliken's exceptionally long (fourteen-year) tenure in Michigan also weathered several periods of severe economic hardship. And, total direct expenditures for higher education climbed at least as steeply as total general expenditures throughout eleven of the governorships

(those of Sanford, Hatfield, Chafee, Hansen, McNair, Rampton, Peterson, Dunn, Hunt, Clinton, and Kean). The two figures differed by one per cent during Apodaca's four-year term. Of the remaining eight administrations, four were led by Republicans (McCall, Milliken, Ray, and duPont) and four by Democrats (Brown, Hughes, Askew, and Graham).

Many of these governors, including Sanford, Clinton, and Kean, obtained education funds through the politically unpalatable move of raising taxes; however, echoing Aycock's words of an earlier era, Milliken, Hughes, and Askew attested that quality education should not be considered a partisan issue.

Forty per cent of the modern "Education Governors" had been directly concerned with education prior to their election through teaching or trusteeship (Hatfield, Hansen, Apodaca, Clinton, and Kean) or indirectly involved in education through strong parental influence (Sanford, McNair, and Hunt). At least one-quarter of these governors -- Sanford, duPont, Hunt, Graham, and Kean -- regularly visited schools throughout their term of office.

Two-thirds (thirteen) of these chief executives proved active participants in a variety of regional and national education endeavors. In addition to chairing ECS, the governors have been intimately linked with the Southern Regional Education Board, the ECS Business Advisory Council, the National Commission on Reforming Secondary Education, the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, the National Reading Council, the Carnegie Forum Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, and the National Governors' Association's "1991 Report on Education" (Time For Results). Moreover, many have held college and university trusteeships.

Apparently cultivating a more cosmopolitan than local or regional orientation, forty per cent of the modern "Education Governors" have evidenced aspirations to national political office. As of January 1987, the United States Senate counted Sanford, Hatfield, Chafee, and Graham among its members. Hunt and Apodaca lost in earlier attempts to join that body. In addition, Askew initially entered the 1984 race for the United States presidency, and duPont is a presidential contender for 1988.

In the Company of Educated Governors

This study has begun to shed some light on the significant but scantily researched higher education-gubernatorial connection. Future analyses should examine the public pledges and ultimate impact of other state chief executives who are popularly associated with education reform but were not among the twenty identified in this research. Such familiar names as former Governors Lamar Alexander (Tennessee), Charles S. Robb (Virginia), and William Winter (Mississippi) come readily to mind.

While education may no longer be the single overriding issue it was in 1986, "schools remain on many governors' minds" (Hechinger, 1987). And, education can be expected to remain a priority as long as Governors like Kean and Clinton hold office. Thus, the higher education community should take the initiative; scholars of education policy and history might join in analyzing proposed policies and programs and communicate their findings with the state capitol. Kean, for one, will listen. According to Harold W. Eickhoff, president of Trenton State College, in New Jersey, "a college can dream of being the best of its kind and know that the Governor and his staff support

that dream. . .Never once have I heard, 'That will cost too much.' It's, 'Explain it. Tell me what I can do to help'" (Mooney, 1987, p. A21).

Like a latter-day Paul Revere, former Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander warned several years ago, "The Governors are coming! The Governors are coming!" The Governors are, indeed, here. And, from all indications, at least some are here to stay.

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